/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 114 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa. Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the 824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart [856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer 122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the Seksawa.

123 124 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance, by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judicial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Although it does not claim the authority of any of those who have read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I could not say whether it has always profited from them as much as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the gratitude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to advise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier.

/5 cont./

101 Sa'adians. Earlier texts, that of Ibn Khaldûn, for example, give
114 Saksîwa, where the vocalization of the second syllable is that of
127 analogous names, such as Damsîra, Ganfîsa, Gadmîwa (1).

1. This is the orthography that de Slane gives, on the evidence of mss. that he used, for example, ms. 1521 of the Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 235 v, 1-2 de fine sq. A genealogical tree, which the translator has not kept in his edition (p. 365, l. 16 sq.), even gives an eponym Saksîw b. Ganfîs b. Maçmûd. The ms. of Rabat, D. 14, 98, Uns al-faqîr by Ibn Qunfûdh, likewise knew Saksîwa, p. 41 a, l. 2 sq. On the other hand, al-Baydhâq wrote Saksâwa, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, p. 65, and Arabic text, p. 43.

But the Berbère /Berber/ system seems too far removed, at least at present, from the long vowel for us to be able to base anything
101 on it. In any case, one now hears only Seksawa, doublet of the name used by the ones concerned themselves: Iseksawan (with sometimes redoubling of the sibilant). The sing. Iseksiwi seems reworked from the Arabic. One would rather expect an Aseksu,
101 as one elsewhere has an Admu, an Aglawu. But, not only is this
171 ethnic not understood by members of the group studied here, but it exists paradoxically elsewhere as a Jewish name, and even Oranie /Oran/ Jewish (2).

2. Information furnished by L. Brunot, who very kindly consulted some Moroccan rabbis for me. Cf. also I. Hamet, Les Juifs dans le Nord de l'Afrique /The Jews in the North of Africa/, 1928, p. 57; dictionary by M. Eisenbeth, Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord.

[Ait Abdella]

133 /58 cont./
634 in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/ V. Historical Backgrounds

175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

• 114
175 Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)

1. We have tried to disentagle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/," Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/59 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

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From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldûn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qaṣbira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

174

Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprises of the /60/ Saʿdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

/92 cont./

First French Knowledge

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113 Here we shall not insist on the political sociology of the modern epoch (1).

1. On the political sociology of the modern epoch, the principal work is that of R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 276 sq., 306 sq., 310 sq. Numerous unpublished or published monographs by the same author: notably, on the Seksawa or the tribes that surround them, art. already cited on the Aghbar, unpublished not. on the Mez'ud'a, Idaw T'anan, Gedmiwa. Remaining unpublished, the valuable monograph by Lieut. F. de La Chapelle, on Les tribus du Grand Atlas du Mtouggui /The tribes of the Great Atlas of the Mtouggui/ (1926), both an "exploration" and an attempt at scientific systematization. The same author has published: "Un grand caïdat du S. marocain /A great caidate of the Moroccan South/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1927, pp. 372 sq.; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut Atlas occidental /The formation of monarchical power in the Berber tribes of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1928, pp. 263 sq.; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "Les tribus de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental /The high-mountain tribes of the western Atlas/," R.E.I., 1928, pp. 339 sq. Unpublished not. by Lieut. Labonne, Notice sur le caïd Abdelmalek Mtouggui /Note on the caid Abdelmalek Mtouggui/, 1913; id., Note sur les Ait Had ou Yous /Note on the Ait Had ou Yous/, 1915; Lieut. Dupas, Les Seksawa /The Seksawa/, 1929 (end of La Chapelle's investigation).

/92 cont./

●114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
12| is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
72| according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
[101] At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)
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1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/93 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

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have believed so (2).

2. H. Terrasse, Histoire du Maroc /History of Morocco/, makes a case for the hypothesis of the leff-s for ancient periods, t. I, 1949, pp. 30 sq. Likewise R. Brunschvig, La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides /Eastern Barbary under the Hafsids/, t. II, 1947, p. 169, considers that the "bipartite system of the soffs, so well known..., was already operating, from all evidence, in the Middle Ages." Tempting suggestions of J. Lambert with regard to the "Tablettes Albertini," R. afr., 1953, pp. 200 sq.

At least one thing favors them: the vitality, with ample correspondences, of the least canton of the Atlas. Today we are tempted to enclose it within its walls. But could it not be that we are fractioning to excess the cadres of this history? Certainly analysis fragments. It is perhaps too affected by the stage of arrival, which is discontinuous, not only for the Atlas, but for all of North Africa. This reality reaches us all in little bits, like shattered auto-glass. But shattered by what shocks or, rather, what evolutions? Perhaps the case of the Seksawa ought to guide one to distinguish, in the remotenesses of the old and medieval Maghreb, larger ensembles, a more malleable space. In the last part of this work, we shall seek to dig out a decisive hypothesis for the interpretation of these societies.

174 As conjectural as the oldest period may be in the case of the Seksawa, it brings out that a vocation for great spaces and for a great history has been shattered in them toward the middle of the fourteenth century. The taqbilt, which was formerly ordered in the N.-S. direction, which is that of its waters, its relief, its lands, and its plants, was to be broken into transversal stretches. The conversion from the one disposition to the other invited intrusions. The valley became populated with usurpers. The authentic Seksawa no longer exist except /95/ cramped on both

1: Berque--136 Z-6 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/96 cont./

174 refractory ones of the great Moroccan history. Somehow or other it recombined them in the permanence of a name. It set against the decadence and the investment a flood of vitality drawn from the South of the Atlas.

The oldest chronicle, the local tradition, and recent observation are thus in agreement. All postulate, around a very small country, dimensions more largely Maghrebi. Everything leads one to recognize the work of the times in a system to which one might quite wrongly lend the immutability of its montagnard decor.

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Second Part
Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

/Page 98 is blank./

182 /99/

I. Organization of the Seksawa Space

Readable in the landscape (1).

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1. At the opening of this chapter, I call upon the considerations of Vidal de Lablache on "L'homme, facteur géographique /Man, geographical factor/," Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 12; another great book, that of L. Febvre on La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922. I must also cite the intuitive comments of J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 129 sq., as well as the article by G. Friedmann on "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, pp. 103 sq. Finally, my debt is large in regard to F. Braudel and the elegant and full pages that he devotes to the Mediterranean

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114 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally, the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

619 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyara). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

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233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[31] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that
233 separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Besseba[c] plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
• [114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

/122 cont./

241 171 (114) analogy, quite justly proper, if one wishes, for adorning the account with images, and without posing the question that immediately comes to mind. Without discussion, J. Baradez attributes all this technique to Romanity. What one might conclude from the present historical account is that in a completely different part of the Maghreb, champion of African isolationism, analogous forms flourished. What differences, besides! The centuriatio is, in these confines of the African Romania, the very basis of the agglomeration of parcels. The exact boundary, the geometrical cadre, and the art of the land surveyor are necessary complements of the land. There is nothing more contrary to the notion of a boundary that our montagnard has. One could almost say, not without some paradox, it is true, that the limit of the field is not at all topographical for him, but is of a completely different order, which we are going to try to define.

At the antipodes of these montagnard parcels, let us first examine the field of the soft Moroccan Atlantic plains: in the Gharb, for example (2).

2. J. Berque, Études d'histoire rurale maghrébine /Studies of Maghrebi rural history/, 1938, pp. 11 sq.

Here the agrarian unit is appropriately the social force, whose visible sign, and at the same time the unit of measure, is the zawja, "harnessed by tillage." A diffused landscape, a great excess of arable land, very anciently cleared, seem to oppose to the development of property only the exigencies of rival developments. A neutral milieu, where theoretically each one spreads out to the extent of his strength. It expresses in itself a liberalism of competition. One conceives that in such a milieu the boundary of the land may be shifting, retractile. If the field is cleared of stones, the stones are grouped in piles, kerkur, k^{w}erkur, not on the /123/ periphery, but in the interior. Now this pile quite frequently assumes a magico-religious function, that of maqām, "mansion." At the end of this evolution the

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
[184] rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the muchâ[c] or muchû[c], a type of collective. But these two types together contrast with the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself. This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as the illustration of civil status.

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power, diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
114 deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
241 acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
789 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ" /death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/129 cont./

114 241 789 been noted. The necessity of restoring to the soil its energy, its baraka, to expulse or to keep away from it the evil forces -- these "deux pôles de la croyance populaire" /two poles of popular belief/ -- animate rites and ceremonies which "constituent, en définitive, le fond de la vie berbère dans tous ses domaines" / constitute definitively the foundation of Berber life in all its domains/ (1).

1. E. Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber words and things/, 1920, p. 321.

A serious hypothesis, which this is neither the place, nor the object of this study, to infirm or confirm. Imbued with the then recent theories of Frazer, following the book by Doutté on Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/, which was the first attempt and the master stroke of this sort of investigation in the Maghreb, the inquiry by E. Laoust also has merit because of the linguistic curiosity and an ethnologists's intuition, which remain models. But on this second level it has hardly been continued. All motives of individuals aside, there is something a little disturbing there. It can be said in one sense that these interpretations, to which it is necessary to add, for Morocco, those of Westermarck and some of those of H. Basset, constituted an end point (2).

2. The book by Laoust appeared in 1920. That of Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, in 1926; that of H. Basset, Le culte des grottes au Maroc /The cult of caves in Morocco/, in 1920.

They have inspired in younger researchers admiration, defiance, and lassitude at the same time. A result undoubtedly regrettable. If there is little chance of adding, in Moroccan matters, discoveries other than detail to those of these great seniors, certain problems are posed, hardly touched upon up until now, and which a critique, were it immodest, would at least have the merit of

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists,
are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does
it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That
is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not
say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

[776] /130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

/130 cont./

114 121 789 example, it must be confessed that an analysis preoccupied above all with morphology, like ours, quite systematically omits the "magic" aspect of Maghrebi affairs. But, on the one hand, the acceptation of Laoust is much broader, and means all at the same time magic in the strict sense, religion, and folklore. On the other hand, if many of the facts that it embraces are only guilty of having been interpreted without a statistical context, they nonetheless exist. That is already a great deal. Would to God that the collection had been increased since Westermarck and E. Laoust with the same élan that animated these great explorers! Subsequent developments that will be devoted to the religious and juridical structures of the Seksawa will close up these distinctions. But here and now, and although, once again, the discussion of the Frazer thesis applied to Maghrebi phenomena is not our purpose, it is necessary to dispose of it, as evocative (or creative) of a partial, but incontestable verity of atmosphere, as it assuredly merits in any description of rural life.

805 171 In all of North Africa, the "tasks and the days" are ordered according to a double division of the year into months of the Julian calendar, with curiously Latin names, and into "mansions," manâzil, of thirteen days each, based on astrology (1).

1. This is in any case an extremely ancient genre in the Mussulman Occident. Cf. H.-P.-J. Renaud, Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ de Marrakech (1256-1321), 1948, moreover on a Cordova prototype and, it seems, without reference /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the Maghreb. Cf. also Joly, Arch. mar., III, 1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, Description de l'Afrique, Schefer, t. I, pp. 112 sq.

The generality of this belief in the manâzil is attested by the fact that a small treatise devoted to them by a man of letters from Marrakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, Natîjat al-ᶜumr,

1: Berque--198 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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III. Compartments and Levels of a Rural System (1)

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1. This idea of compartments and levels arises from the hypothesis that the Moroccan agricultural system is not one; that there are divergences or shiftings between its different branches. It will be difficult for me to specify in this hypothesis what belongs to me or goes back to my friend J. Couleau, an agricultural engineer. As early as 1946, in fact, in a study that we wrote in collaboration, he proposed the idea that, contrary to our own peasant system, the native cultivation of cereals and raising of animals in the Moroccan plains did not originate from any synthesis, but, in sum, developed independently. This fertile idea came into my own research. I have every reason to believe that the recent analyses by J. Couleau in his work in preparation on L'agriculture indigène dans la région de Fès /Native agriculture in the region of Fez/ will return to this hypothesis in a great profusion of agronomic and social observations.

Routines Or Techniques?

241 The first glance at the Seksawa agriculture turns up many traits of advancement. The refection of the lands is being pursued there jointly with the administration of the water. A close relationship between the exhaustion of the humus by the plant and its renewal by the manurings is perceived. The latter are the object of a care maintained all the more as the practice of the submersion of the planches /Fr. planche, bed, border, land between furrows/ and a tendency toward abuse of the available module constantly dilute the soil. Experimentally, more or less manure or water visibly affects germination. All of this horticulture is to be placed under the badge of labor, of courage. It could not be

/144 cont./

133 those that spurt resurgences in the bed itself, supply a vital contribution, despite their perceptible decline in summer. For example, the so-called source of Sidi Mh'and in the bed of the Seksawa downstream from T'abya. The essential nevertheless [312] lies in the collection of the wild waters, both by the mass of life that it bestows, and by the correlative interest that the native techniques bring to it (2).

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2. E.-F. Gautier has devoted a magnificent chapter to the surface circulation of the waters in Le Sahara /The Sahara/, 1928, pp. 71 sq. But it was the privilege of J. Despois to emphasize the importance of this irrigation by accidental waters, completely neglected by J. Brunhes, and which plays the main role in North Africa. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Low Steppe/, 1940, pp. 292 sq.; communication to the Congrès de Géographie de Lisbonne, 1949, on "L'utilisation des eaux de crue dans les pays arides de l'Afrique du Nord /The use of flood waters in the arid countries of North Africa/." Example of the plains of the Houdna, Actes du Congrès, 1951, t. III, pp. 245 sq., and Le Houdna, 1953, pp. 166 sq.

133 The proportion between these two orders of contributions is
312 difficult to estimate. The local view distinguishes them poorly. For it, everything is a matter of "ravines," ighezraten, plur. of ighzer. It appreciates the value of the sources, which a saint legend often magnifies. But, curiously, it does not relate them to the birth of the rivers. That is why it is impossible to state precisely where the Seksawa came from. An idle question on the plane of objectivity. An instructive incertitude if one is in the least interested in grasping the native interpretation in order to
312 draw from it all that it might furnish /145/ in clues. What

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312 too steep, almost vertical, it is notched with stairs and benches. Networks of arable surface will then stretch in curves of levels, superimposed on one another by little walls of dry stone or talus: imaran, plur. of imiri, in the first case, igenzwan or igenzaten, plur. of agenza, in the second. That is a common form. The fullest application of it that can be cited here is that of Agersili. It is not rare that more than a hundred steps, as, for example, at Asikis, build a staircase for giants up to mid-slope. At the same time this system resolves what our engineers call the problem of colature. But it is resolved poorly. Although the excess moisture descends from tier to tier or accumulates in the drains that the stone walls constitute, and, in addition, undergoes an intense evaporation, the washing of the land is inevitable. Thus the yield is relatively small, despite the water and the fertilizer.

So, therefore, a struggle against the swiftness of the flood, itself resulting from the slope; therefore, the arrangement of the slope into graduated level-stretches as broadly as possible. Struggle both against the meteoric fatalities and against the penury of arable soil: the two things are conjugated. /147/ And since, in the most frequent case, it is a matter of, not permanent, but sudden and violent resources, all of this work requires, in addition to a permanent water-strategy, tactics whose sagacity is astonishing.

312 • 114 Such is the peculiar nature of the montagnard hydraulics. It depends almost entirely on this technique of "unforeseen" waters to which J. Despois has rightly drawn attention. To what extent then is it necessary to distinguish an irrigation of diversion and an irrigation of accumulation, like J. Dresch (1)?

1. J. Dresch, Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941, pp. 12 sq., a work whose remarkable cartography and all the more the commentaries have constituted for our own research a geographical cadre

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/footnote 1 continued/ and a useful means of cross-checking. In the same order of ideas let us cite, by the same author, in collaboration with J. de Lepinay, the guide on Le massif du Toubkal, 1938, pp. 55 sq.

Certainly, accumulation of the waters represents an idea that is never absent. Even on an intermittent course the slight obstacle constituted by the uggug starts to create a small reservoir. Moreover this reservoir takes on form and function: humble "water hole," afraw, or veritable "basin," chcharij. But the difference lies less in the reception of the arriving water than in its distribution. Whether the water comes in a state of continuous flow, or intermittent, or in the form of resurgence, or of concentration of the streaming down a slope, the problem is finally and always only a problem of collection. At the exit, however, a radical difference sets the continuous debit -- obviously conceivable when the reception is so itself -- in opposition to the discontinuous debit, which periodically empties the reservoir. In the first case, the role of the latter is only to raise the plane of water, while in the second this role is duplicated by another: that of concentrating the temporary resources with a view to a massive, though rapid utilization. A question of level in the first case. In the second, a question of debit. Accumulator in one case, distributor in the other, the basin is both one and the other. The distinction between the two operations would thus be subtle, if all the emphasis did not bear on the second in the local view. Extremely expert at gathering on the surface of the ground the complement of water that the rain withholds, the native method reveals infinitely more competence and obstinacy in assuring the distribution of it. It displays on this occasion marvels of industry and tricks. One feels that it contrives to split hairs, to subtilize if necessary, in order to transform the irregular windfall of water into debits for infinitesmal allotments. It tries to make social equity with the natural hazards.

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312 423 191 is constituted by the auction of water, of which Brunhes has given, for the Valencian Elche, so strong a description (1).

1. Op. laud., p. 98. Other examples cited by Joaquin Costa and others, Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II: the water market at Alicante, pp. 135 sq. The hila also bears the name of dula, evidently Arabic: dawla = Chl. /Shluh/ tawala. For Spain itself, perhaps it would be interesting to compare the strange measure of irrigation called hila or hilo with what our Mez'ud'a call lme ref and the a. Abdella lmçerf. The first give it a precise definition: it is "module of irrigation whose full use can be assured by the unit of habitual agricultural work," to wit, the work of one man in two days or of two men in one day.

312 182 On the contrary, what is striking in the Atlas is a prodigious organization. A discordance is even manifest between the social rhythms almost perfect, or postulating perfection, which preside over the division, and the mediocrity of the material, such as the tools. The nice equilibrium, the consummate science of the distribution contrast with the precariousness of this whole hydraulic system. The disproportion between the social constructions and the material techniques bursts forth. It surprises all the more the "European" or the "modern," whose analysis generally overlooks the meticulous harmony of the former. Thus the prestigious work by Brunhes nowhere discloses, in the section that he devotes to the Maghreb, collective modalities in the administration of the water (2).

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2. Op. laud., pp. 73, 251. Is it not significant that, inversely to the preoccupations of the

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/footnote 2 continued/ French geographer, Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, Madrid, 1915, should give a large place to the community traits (pp. 532 sq.)? Independently of the tendencies of the work, the atmosphere of the institution seems to be rendered better in the Spanish descriptions.

On the plane of techniques themselves, it has missed an /159/ important problem, that of the utilization of accidental water. It seems that one would find in the Maghreb, in the conservatories such as the Atlas or the oases, the explanation of forms applicable to the whole Mediterranean basin, and notably to the single European sector where they have kept some fullness: this Spain which, in that, has shown itself to be obstinately faithful to the heritage of the Mussulman Occident.

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In the part of Morocco studied here, is the disproportion between the social edifice and its material substrate a trait of origin or of decadence? Does this contrast between so perfect an organization (1)

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1. Whence the inextricable difficulty of the litigations for the division of the water in the regime of European administration. Examples abound, which will not be cited. To keep us on the scientific plane, the best description that we have found and which moreover alludes to a neighboring sector, that of the Idaw Mh'mud, is given in an unpublished work (Arch. d'Imintanout) by Lieut. Oqbani on La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana /Water legislation in the Argana tribes/: attentive observation, describing curious procedures of drawing lots, but only at the stage of the result; the author seems to have missed

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121 182 114 [191]

/footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [462] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

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245 offer a wealth of fodder for the flock. A veritable "aerial mead-
233 ow" (1).

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1. The expression is Algerian: Rivière and Lecq, op. laud., t. I, p. 235. Cf. t. I, ibid., pp. 207 sq., and also t. II, pp. 13 sq., an excellent description of the wild forage-flora in North Africa.

It is true that this conjunction between livestock breeding and arboriculture yields immediately to vehement differences in style, going as far as contrast: but this contrast is precisely not of European type. In the Atlas, it is the livestock breeding that is knowing and careful, and the arboriculture offhand, and, as we might say, extensive.

233 The flock gives the impression of a profound adaptation to the country. The sturdiness of the goats, their agility in providing for their subsistence in the most difficult and poorest reliefs make them a redoubtable adversary of the forest. The bovines are small and sturdy. The ovines belong to the same stock as those of the Tubkal, of the Tidili, of the Sirwa: bare legs, head and shoulders relatively high above the feet, the aquiline profile on the ram.

(232) The percentage of black coats corresponds to systematic research on the part of the breeder: the beginning of selection. The latter, to tell the truth, most often operates backwards, the best-developed animals being precisely destined for slaughter. The fat lamb is in fact either a small deposit that is changed into money or the material of numerous family or social rites. Fiduciary economy or feasting thus comes here to limit the technique of the livestock breeder. That is, moreover, a general Maghrebi trait.

However that may be, the practice of sheltering, the ensilage of feed, the /166/ cultivation of fodder, the putting in defense endow the system with all the elements of a modern organization. The animal marvelously performs his role as the provider of meat, of substances to spin, and of fatty materials, tamudit, ultimately
000 coinciding with the product of the olive tree. Milk is never

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121 /footnote 3 continued/ géographie humaine, 1922, p. 105), are preponderant. Cf. op. cit., pp. 108 sq. That implies varieties and inequalities of level.

For the dialogue between natural milieu and human milieu does not always end in agreement. There can be discordance, mutual prejudice. All rural economy amounts to a certain type of collaboration between man and plant associations. To judge it, it is necessary to define the effects of this collaboration on each of the partners. In the most favorable case, progress of the group /172/ on one hand, increase in biogeographical potential on the other mark the success of the type: mediocrity or retreat of the former, decline of the latter express, on the contrary, failure. But things are rarely so contrasted. Generally, an equilibrium more or less fertile, more or less ruinous, is established between the two terms.

121 182 171 But here we are in the Old World, bordering the oldest classical history, of which our Maghrebis are the frontiersmen. They are late with a revolution, the industrial revolution. But neither do their techniques present any radical difference from those of the Mediterranean montagnards, the Andorrans, for example (1),

182 171 121 114 1. We choose this example not only as a case "of montagnard analogy," but also because the careful studies of Brutails, which we cite from time to time, permit comparison up to the matter of custom.

In the Roussillon Middle Ages the kitchen garden exists. But sometimes the gardens are all grouped in one quarter called horta (J.-A. Brutails, Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study of the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, p. 20). Cf. ibid., pp. 17 sq., the former preponderance of barley (with rye and millet, as here) in

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/footnote 1 continued/ victual cultivation. Other "archaic" Mediterranean traits might interest one in a comparison with our milieu: M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées méditerranéennes, the insufficience of hoed crops, being reduced to the bean in Ampurdan (p. 240), certain inadaptations (p. 205), etc.

To come back to North Africa, it is necessary to note a great difference between the formula of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ and that of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. The Kabyle has a kitchen garden: these thimizar, "close by the habitations" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, 1872 ed., t. I, p. 414, and also p. 422, where an interesting distinction from the "irrigated vegetable gardens," placed very far from the village, is introduced). Is the term tamazirt to be compared with "manure," amazir, and should it be translated strictly as "land likely to be manured"? This is what would be conveyed by the Arabic translation that the jurists of the Sous give for it, because of a pedantic pun, one might say: ad-dimna. However that may be, E. Laoust observes, Siwa, 1932, p. 274, that in the general sense of "country" the Berbère /Berber/ world is divided into two zones: tamart for the eastern and Zénète dialects of the N., tamazirt for the Çanhāja and Maçmūda.

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nor does the profusion of rites lock them into a material inertia, like certain black peoples. Then on what bases is one to judge their system? (2).

2. A consultation with the best agronomists convinces us that up to now this question has never been the object of theoretical developments, at least for North Africa. On a general plane, cf.

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b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa).

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	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nfifa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ᶜabra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

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V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

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R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIII^e siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

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114 616 themselves -- all that is suddenly lighted up by a symmetry: the confrontation of two permanent principles, two "leagues," if one wishes, on the chessboard of the cantons.

This is not the place to do the history of a hypothesis: having burst forth one day from long observations, formulated to the surprised informants, they confirm it, recognize it. It instigates a rich scientific exploration. Then, popularized by its very success in the milieus of researchers and administrators, it comes back to the native after twenty years at every contact made by a new bureau chief. Henceforth, it determines experience and action to a certain extent, and acts subtly on reality.

114 [129] It was one day on the plateau of the Mzawt, overlooking Lalla Aziza on one side, Ammern on the other, that a symmetry seemed to me to emerge from a great mass of landed-property data collected here and there, as much by deliberate inquiry on the terrain as by the chance of litigations and analyses of old documents. Most of these data were from the Seksawa country. I shall apply myself to verifying them by observation of the /219/ zones which were also directly accessible to me, such as Demsira, Mtugga, Mez'ud'a, Nfifa.

121 The point of departure was the authentication of a concordance (1)

1. This hypothesis has been advanced by us, with more or less development, in several articles: "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," 1948, R. afr., 1948; review in the Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français, 1950, of a communication of June 3, 1950, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/"; "Un glossaire notarial /A notarial glossary/," R. afr., 1950;

[Demsira]

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/footnote 1 continued/ "Terroirs et Seigneurs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Grounds and Lords of the western High Atlas/," Ann. Hist. soc., 1951, pp. 474 sq.

among three orders of phenomena: the distribution of the group into ikhs-s, that of the ground into toponymical quarters, and that of time into turns for water. Thereupon a new collection of notes, more extensive in the field of observation, but naturally less profound and less co-ordinated, will come to be added to those that the monographic investigation of Seksawa grounds suggests.

Exterior Cross-Checkings: Demsira (2)

2. May we be permitted to excuse ourselves here, once and for all, for the abundance of anthroponymic and toponymic nomenclatures in a study that does not present linguistic character. It is that their analysis is necessary for that of the structures, of which it is the most visible clue. On the interest of studies of Berbère /Berber/ toponymy and anthroponymy, cf. E. Laoust, Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut-Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/, which aims at our very milieu, 1942; A. Basset, "Note sur la graphie des toponymes /Note on the writing of the toponyms/," Travaux de l'Institut des Recherches sahariennes, 1942, pp. 177 sq., where a simple phonetic alphabet is proposed, fairly similar to the one that has been adopted here; on the Berbère toponymy, and especially on the Chaouia toponymy of the Ait Frah, Onomastica, 1948, p. 123; and especially, "Pour une collecte

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[Demsira]

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/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du III^e Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

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/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suffered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chaïb and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

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This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

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171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

1: Berque--328 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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Third Part
Institutions and Values

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/237/ Common Aspects and Problems of the Religious Life and of the Juridical Life

I. Local Foundation and Oriental Contribution

A Religious and Juridical Personality

778 114 When Doutté, about fifty years ago, coming from Marrakech by the route of the Dir, crossed the ford of the Seksawa, he noted on the left, becoming visible to him in the high cliffs, the tomb of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. E. Doutté, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, p. 248.

For one who knows the country, that is an impossibility. The tomb, overhung on all sides by vertiginous rocks, is visible only from the edges of its cirque, some three hours march to the S. of the ford crossed by the man of Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/. But let us not hasten either to exult ever the Algerian scholar or to cry out fantasy. His words are truer than the topography, and I am not sure but that, while crossing the Seksawa, the Moroccan guide, looking upstream and kissing his fingers, or raising his hand to his forehead, believed that he had discovered the place of marvels. Not as much is needed for a sociologist in quest of the sacred to note a sanctuary. Our serious cartography perpetuates even more amusing confusions in the Atlas.

778 [133] A secret vehemence vibrates in this landscape quite charged with interdicts. A triangle of high mountains, pointing toward the snows of the Tabgurt, seems to wall in an impasse on the left. No power of the plain, from the Mérinides to the Protectorate, was able to defeat a liberty harshly illustrated by the citadels in [716] ruins that surround it. It is that saints protected it, these saints

779 671 /242 cont./ ordered by great masses: the Chleuh /Shluh/ bloc is one of these masses.

779 175 On the first problem, that of the acceptance of eastern norms, we lack sufficiently precise historical data. It is in fact a matter of an old evolution of at least a millennium, whose point of departure and principal stages escape us. At the most we are thereupon reduced to hypotheses on which one could not legitimately base the account. Therefore, it will be best to have recourse to observations from the present and from the immediate past.

779 Our juridical expansion in North Africa collided with that of another system, already anciently established -- and also which recovers with time an aggressive vigor -- the Mussulman law, or fiqh. The stake of the competition was and still is to provide the decisive part in the organization of the social relations and in the ethics of the Maghrebi man. But the rivals are not grappling only with each other. They have found before them, beneath them, more or less intact or degraded, more or less compact or scattered, the vestiges of indigenous laws, which it is conventional to put together under the generic appellation of "Berbère /Berber/ custom."

779 671 671 This is to say that this term of custom is not taken here in the strict sense that the jurists sometimes give it (2).

• [114] 2. Cf. the Romano-canonical theory of custom and the masterly discussion of it done by Ed. Lambert, La fonction du droit civil comparé /The function of comparative civil law/, 1920, pp. 113 sq.

In many cases, in fact, this "custom" presents characteristics of rational cohesion, legislated expression, indeed even written codification, which are the very ones of the law. In fact, "custom," for the Maghreb, is the law of the predecessor and competitor. If the Mussulman cadi suppresses, /243/ in the [171] domain of a custom that he will never recognize as normative,

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extreme case. The fatwa /futwa/ of the Idaw Zeddut (2)

2. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, p. 18.

in the same region, on the other hand, justifies the application of custom as auxiliary source of the law by reference to the same orthodox norms as a jurisconsult of Fès /Fez/, al-Qâdirî, justifying the ᶜAmal, this pragmatic law that developed in the urban law courts. But neither al-Qâdirî nor the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists fear the innovation, or at least confess it. Moreover, how would they draw the line between deviation and adaptation? In the Orient, as in Morocco, the classical procedure of judicial subterfuges, al-h'iyal, has developed an immense thicket of subtleties where the part of the one and of the other is sometimes indiscernible.

One may observe here and there, I believe, that the dosage, moreover diversified, but present everywhere, between religious law and customary norms has sometimes taken relatively conscious and deliberate forms. And, in the same proportion, that takes away this Berbère /Berber/ primitivism, sometimes the object of overly naïve European enthusiasms (3).

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3. Recourse to a criterion of primitivism for classifying the different "Berbère" juridical systems of North Africa seems to us to have excessively marked the rich works of G. Marçy, "Les caractères généraux du droit coutumier berbère /General characteristics of the Berber customary law/," CHEAM, pp. 4 sq., and especially Le droit coutumier Zemmour /Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 360 sq.

/247 cont./

779 prototype created. And so it will be against them that both the
171 individual and the believer will assert themselves. Hence their course, hence this desire for independence and adventure, and in any case a freshness and a liberty which will confer on their faith a very special nuance. It is this that gives the Berbère /Berber/, as magician, as saint, or confrere of minor order, surprising dispositions, well known, for good or evil, from the Orient itself. The man of the Atlas, and by extension the Maghrebi, becomes the individual par excellence, from the time that he seeks to break away from his cadre.

779 To the people of the Atlas, Islam appears, in certain respects, as an urbanism of cadis, bazaars, hebdomadal sermon, elegance, commercial liberalism, good eating and good talk, but also of pashas and makhzanian jails. And all that is found in Marrakech /Marrekesh/ and Taroudant, non licet omnibus... That is what will confer, by contrast, well-defined traits to the faith of the montagnard shepherd and woodcutter. Their reaction, once escaped from the "rural system," will, of course, be purism. And there will enter a part of what we would call, quite horribly, a class complex. From the confreric adherence to so mixed a content will then escape from time to time the unitary intellectual, breaking off from both the city of the mountains and the city of the plains. In sum, and on the plane of faith, will be discerned, from the base to the summit, the ardent, uncultivated, and savage crowd of villagers, the fanatic adept of the sheik, the purified devotee, and, at the very top in the peaks, these provisional revolutionaries who are the saint and the reformer. For the moment, the variety of the scale stops there.

General Order of This Research

771 Thus, at the level (1)

[121] 1. For this idea of successive "niveaux"
[114] /levels/ of social reality to which we shall

/247 cont./

771 121 114

/footnote 1 continued/ constantly appeal in this investigation, we owe a great deal /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the ideas of G. Gurvitch, Eléments de sociologie juridique /Elements of juridical sociology/, 1940, pp. 167 sq., on the "étagements du droit" /stages of the law/. On the "sociologie en profondeur" /sociology in depth/, id., La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, pp. 49 sq., and the distinctions of pp. 55 sq. Taken into consideration is the psychological theory of H. Wallon, where, indeed, Maghrebi sociology can find useful inspirations. Cf. especially De l'acte à la pensée /From the act to the thought/, apropos the "signe" /sign/ and the "symbole" /symbol/, pp. 190 sq. As one will see, our own conception of the niveaux /levels/ in Maghrebi sociology does not exactly cover that of G. Gurvitch, itself appearing in evolution in his later works.

771 of the soil, and of the rustic collective life, the sacred clings so much to the rhythms of the group that it is, /248/ on certain points, indistinguishable from them. It is only through successive disconnectings that it rises toward the individualistic law, sanctity, and personal feeling, while correlatively moving away from the communitarian synthesis. The analysis will begin, therefore, with these joint forms which undoubtedly represent the most ancient foundation.

121 It would have been logical to follow it then with the study of the more and more complex levels of the religious and juridical life, while showing how the influence of a universalist system acts symmetrically upon both domains, in the sense of the individualization of belief and of the mobility of the laws. But the reality is

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∞ infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

• 114 What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

541 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Âid are taken up with Saturnalia. The skins of sacrificed [292] animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1),

1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the [534] day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole [535] put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

[171] 2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

/283 cont./

423 627 578 hand is also the landmark. The clod appears as a projection of the field. Both may be considered as conveying the forces that, by his gesture and his formula, the individual has in some way fixed upon himself. This genre of interpretation comes very easily to mind and cannot be seriously contested, whatever reservations the excesses of the method in Maghrebi ethnology may have inspired. Naturally, the local explanation is religious and elaborated. It comes back to the meaning, affirmed or not: "... that this stone should lie heavy upon me the day of the last judgment." Whether or not that is a matter of a reinterpretation, the thing is evident. The liaison of the stone with the idea of boundaries is a general theme (2).

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2. Cf. A. Magdelain, Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 164, which indeed makes evident the importance of "sworn law" as an archaic stage, and p. 15 on the liaison of Jupiter Terminus with a stone in the procedure of the foedus /league between states, compact between individuals/.

The value of the pebble, as representing the person (3),

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3. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, p. 8, n. 1, mention, without lingering on it, a remarkable rite of apposition of a stone by each tribe in an important deliberation.

also appears here readily in the /264/ plural oaths: the first of the coswearers alone pronounces the formula; the others validly limit themselves to depositing small pebbles, tizratin, on the place of the rite after him. And the practices of expulsion of fatigue or of sickness which consist of the deposit of a stone have been

1: Berque--393 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

I. Great Ritual Personifications

"A National Saint,"

Lalla Aziza

When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, Ih'rum i-yseksawan,

/291 cont./

773 776 "The Sultan wanted to make the acquaintance of Lalla Aziza and had her summoned to Marrakech. She went there and continued to be noticed in the city for her piety and for the good that she did around her. She was very honored, but her influence became so great that the Sultan took offense, and Lalla Aziza was thrown into prison. Several times an attempt was made to poison her, but each time that the poisoned dish was presented to her, she refused to eat any of it.

"One day, however, it was her most faithful servant who offered her the poison. Then she said: 'For God I shall eat some of it and for God I shall die.'

"But before doing so, she demanded that, once dead, her body would be tied on a mule and that it would be buried where the mule stopped.

"She ate some of the poisoned dish and died. As she had wished, her body was placed on a mule, which left immediately but could not be followed. The same day, it arrived at the Seksawa, where the body was recognized and buried with great ceremony.

"The inhabitants of Marrakech then erected a beautiful cupola in honor of the saint and obtained permission from the Sultan that the body would be placed there. The transfer took place, but it could be confirmed, several days later, that the body reposed simultaneously in the capital and at the Seksawa. It was then that the Sultan decided that a Kouba /kubba/ identical to that of Marrakech would be built in the mountains."

796 114 Brives subsequently devotes only a few lines to the ceremony. Let us thus leave his account in order to gather together a certain number of facts that do not seem to have struck him and whose importance for the meaning of the rite and for its import is considerable.

/297 cont./

175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ᶜAzîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ᶜAmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind, and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ᶜAmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this, standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

175 776 792 [114)

1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/308 cont./
796 time applause, or rather what we would call a ban /measured applause/ (1).

1. For this society knows "applause," chchamkha. Expression of the mountebank, "A ban!", chchamkhat âli-h, a locution in which Arabic and Chleuh /Shluh/ blend.

[794] In the enormous hubbub of the crowd and animals, a note of youthful and poignant tenderness coming from the heart sometimes rises on a single tone: some tt'aleb invoking the name of God. From the level of the crowd, of the commune, of the rural feast, this cry rises to another plane. It escapes the sociology of groups.

/309/ III. Individual Depassments

128 God among the Seksawa

"A god understood is not a god (1)."

1. R. Otto, Le Sacré /The Sacred/, tr. 1929, p. 45.

And this study would abandon the essential if it were limited to the rites, to the figures, in a word, to what can be apprehended from outside. On the inside resides the tremendum, "the mystery that makes one tremble."

114 On an August night a multitude descended the escarpments of
781 the Tichka. The festivity, the whole day, was in full swing. But the signal to return had been given already at the evening meal, for it was better to make the difficult stage of the Tabgurt, a six hours' march, in the coolness. A French visitor, by way of an unbelievable slope with hairpin bends, plunged into darkness that even dulled the trembling glimmer of the candle ends, entrusted himself to his mount. There was nothing else to do. This was an

/309 cont./

114 781 elephantine mule, which, by precautionary jerks in the darkness, descended something as steep as the stairway of the Sacré-Coeur. The night was filled with cries: an indistinct crowd skipped along the road. One barely glimpsed a few moving spots in passing: whiteness of a garment furtively lighted. Long howls, with a sharp ricochet, cascaded from the rocky walls. Suddenly, all was silent and one heard a pure melodic phrase: stanza or litany. And anew, at 1,500 vertical meters, a clamor was let loose: "hî, hî, hî, î î î..." The crowd came to itself in its cry. The visitor turned to his Mussulman companion, in the daze of the march at three o'clock in the morning. "They are afraid," the other one told him. "Afraid of what?" -- "Of the people of the mountain." -- "Where are they?" -- "You should know that the night is full of them."

781 Panic exaltation, mixed with irrational fear: raw religious moment. Here it was a case of a mass. But it is even more often a case of an individual. From the role of the crowd is then disentangled that of the specialist: marabout, initiate, doctor, t't'aleb, quaestor of science or maker of books of spells. And that of the faithful as person is disentangled.

128 /310/ Now, no one knows what takes place in the conscience of the Chleuh /Shluh/ when he prays, joins a brotherhood, pays a visit to the tomb of the saints. Or, what comes back to the same thing, one is reduced to knowing it by intuition. More scientifically, one would only have a choice between two methods: either the approximation by the numerous and arduous paths of modern psychology, which is not practicable for the moment; or a partial analysis, conscious of its discontinuity. In fact, that is the only path that remains open. If we were to neglect it, it would be better to refer to the descriptive literature, or, better still, to the talent of the novelist, in case one could be found to make felt, thanks to the suggestions of the fable, an infinitely synthetic and hidden reality (1).

1. See, for example, in another domain, some short stories of Ahmed Sefroui, and especially the work of François Bonjean.

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778 name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:
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114 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Amer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

/325 cont./

175 69 grindstones, manâhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods, dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'âq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqarid'în, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmûkî, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /[illegible]/ jurist az-Zaqqâq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujûdu-hu ka'l-^{c}adam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

693 121 1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not serious for comparison. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

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/footnote 1 continued/ Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Outlines of Moroccan Berber customary law/, 1928, p. 185, n. 1. One finds in this work very exact, but incomplete and scattered notations. For example, on the alwâh', pp. 12, 142, 179, 181; on the instinct for patrimonial preservation among the Imazighen, pp. 35 sq.; on the true character of the rahn, pp. 196 sq.; the asghurt, p. 128. We are obliged to point out these coincidences with our own observations.

69 And it is no less so that such a judge, often far from the place of litigation, cut off from any possibility of investigation, and chosen even because of that no doubt, does not base his decision on objective data at all, indeed sometimes not even on hearing the two parties. The decision is often presented in fact in the form of a letter delivered to one of the litigants, and undoubtedly solely on the evidence of his statement. One might be surprised by the fact that a rural society entrusts its most precious interests to such a whimsical magistery. But, on the one hand, [627] the great majority of the conflicts are under the jurisdiction of prelaw and hence never come to procedural argument. And, on the other hand, the latter brings into play the not negligible factors of auctoritas. First, the weight of the person, of the writing, and of the reference to the Law. Then, the recourse to an external culture and ethic, felt as such, but to which one adheres at the appointed time and place, no more, and which one has intervene when it is necessary and when one wishes. In the second phase of this procedural splitting is read one of the attitudes of Chleuh /Shluh/ comportment with respect to Arabism and external civilization in general. We shall not engage here in a discussion of social psychology, which could lead far.

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692 The appeal to an eminent sapience (2).

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114 2. In the thirteenth century, al-ᶜAbdarī shows the people of the Sous literally seizing passing scholars, Cherbonneau tr., Journal asiatique, IV, 1854, p. 151, and B. Nat. ms 2283, fol. 5, l. 5 de fine sq. Notations of the same order in Léon, on the side of the present Imintanout, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Ch. Schefer, 1898, t. 1, p. 219 (in "Semada," with arbitration described in full), and citation in L. Massignon, Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVIᵉ siècle /Morocco in the first years of the sixteenth century/, 1906, §106, p. 127. It is necessary, however, to set against this aspect (exteriority of the judge) what Léon tells us about the veritable "parliament" that functions in ait Daud in a seemingly indicated professional climate (ibid., Schefer, p. 153).

Examples of dualist procedure in a. Wawzgit (De la Porte des Vaux, "The a. W. de la vallée du Zagmouzen," in CHEAM, p. 111), the Anti-Atlas (Huot, "L'organisation de la justice dans les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas," in CHEAM, p. 15).

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692 the talismanic action of Arabic writing are certainly what characterize this instance the most, rather than the arbitral aspect suggested by its terminology. /327/ There are no conciliators here, but magistrates, and better yet liberators of forces. Forces that the milieu considers transcendent and which it carefully keeps at a distance.

1: Berque--473 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/336 cont./

212 794 693 is uncultivated, keeps his head bare, wears only one shirt, lets his wives devote themselves to tasks more or less decent; the Malékite /Maliki/ utilitarianism tolerates him all the same, because, without him, the village would no longer pray and would no longer enter into contracts.

These different traits will complete the encompassing of two essential motifs of the Seksawa, indeed Chleuh /Shluh/ in a larger sense, procedure: the writing and the oath, with their municipal atmosphere. At the same stroke, the beginning of historical precision, in a matter which is ordinarily so deprived of it, comes to cast some light on the relations of juridical modes, whose articulation in time one thus begins to perceive. Although narrowly limited to the field of this study, such elements merit for the ensemble of Morocco the very thing being conferred on the Moroccan South, as producer of juridical forms, an unexpected primacy.

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II. Familial Law

Agnatic Family or Conjugal Family (1)

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1. This problem is absolutely central in our investigation. Hence it can be treated only gradually in the development of the account. The notion of the agnatic group as the basis of Berbère /Berber/ society long ago passed the boundaries of the monograph. It goes back to very old observations, notably made apropos the cut-up habitat, or quarter, and such as are found, for example, in the Voyages d'Ali bey /The Travels of Ali Bey/, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1886, draws some valuable analyses from it. All

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/footnote 1 continued/ the literature of the "bureau arabe" /Arab office/, Daumas, Villot, Richard, etc., had insisted upon the "patriarchal" side of Maghrebi life. These views are systematized by M. Morand, Etudes de droit musulman algérien /Studies on Algerian Mussulman law/, 1910, pp. 10 sq., and A. Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The Evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1906, in their very rich chapter IX on the social life, pp. 271 sq. They give an account there of the profound study by E. Doutté, "L'organisation domestique et sociale chez les H'ăh'a /The domestic and social organization among the H'ăh'a/," Rens. col., Jan., 1905, which approaches our sector, pp. 8 sq. Observations by W. Marçais in a domain more distant, but valuable for the North Africa ensemble, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arab texts from Takrouna/, 1925, pp. xi sq.; good bibliography by A. Mouliéras on the ᶜazwa of the Jebala, Le Maroc inconnu /Unknown Morocco/, 1895, t. I, p. 66; by H. Bruno on the ᶜaz'ăm, "Introduction à l'étude du droit coutumier des berbères du Maroc Central /Introduction to the study of the customary law of the Berbers of Central Morocco/," Arch. berb., 1918, p. 306. In this context of observations, R. Maunier does not hesitate to approximate the Kabyle takhamrubt to the Roman gens, Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works of North African sociology/, 1930, p. 64, and describes a "segmentary" society. These ideas have been very widespread. Vidal de Lablache himself, Principes de Géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 291, compares Berbère /Berber/ society to an ensemble of Hellenic

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/footnote 1 continued/ cantons that did not bring about their "synoecism." To return to concrete observations, a thorough study of the ikhs in Morocco was undertaken by R. Montagne in a series of works published in Hesp. beginning in 1924, and also Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. Montagne consequently will affirm the importance of the patriarchal family, for example, very recently, in Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insists on the importance of the agnatic group, although he has posed the conjugal family as "elementary cell." He had already expressed this idea, especially in "L'alliance par colactation /Alliance by colactation/," IIe Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes/, 1936.

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Let us suppose that groups, inversely to the exigencies of an individualist logic, were determined from the more to the less extensive rather than by an amplification that began with the individual. This idea of Durkheim's has a chance of being verified historically by the Berbères /Berbers/, whose present fragmentation could have been preceded by vast conjunctions. The study of the great ensembles of the medieval Maghreb, then that of the leagues of the recent past, then of the confederations, /338/ tribes, cantons, would bring to that of the agnatic family (1)

1. Cf., on the "undivided agnatic family," the ideas of G. Davy, Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui /Sociologists of yesterday and today/, 1950, 2nd edit., pp. 109 sq. The slightly

/340 cont./

581 That is, however, a sort of exception, of reminder. In fact, in spite of a great ceremonial richness, marriage here no longer offers any trait that would reveal, at least on the plane of the law, collective conditionings. In the eyes of the local jurists, this whole part of their institutions draws its inspiration closely from the fiqh (1).

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1. In this sense, cf. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of the customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 25 sq., and, in an Islamizing sense naturally indicated even more, the nikâh' chapters in the works of an-Nâçirî, ar-Rasmûkî, al-ᶜAbbâsî, etc.

Such a profession, assuredly exact if one clings to the judiciary plane, is less so for one who considers the mores, the tensions that they express, the images that they suggest. What part to give to the one and to the other of these two modes of perceiving, each reflecting a different level of reality? The inquiry by Westermarck (2),

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2. E. Westermarck, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, and the numerous allusions to the Moroccan institution made in the other works by this author. On the method of W., see Lévi-Strauss, "L'oeuvre de W. /The works of Westermarck/," R. d'hist. des Religions, No. 1, 1945. E. Westermarck was struck by the Moroccan institutions to the point that his Histoire du mariage /History of marriage/, for example, tr., 2nd ed., makes broad appeals to them, and not always happy ones. Cf., for example, what he says about the famous Night of error (t. I, pp. 121 sq.). Interesting remarks

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/footnote 2 continued/ on courtship (t. II, p. 205 sq.), marriage by flight (t. IV, pp. 49 sq.), marriage by exchanges of fiancées, which is the ante-Islamic chighâr (t. IV, pp. 90 sq.). E. Doutté, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, 1905, pp. 331 sq., gives a remarkable description of marriage in Reh'âmna. He cites, same page, n. 2, an exhaustive bibliography for his time and for Morocco.

which one has the good fortune to have available in the second of these two domains, is of little help here, in spite of the /341/ suggestive prospects that it opens here and there. It in fact neglects morphological analysis and in the end contributes only a collection of traits more valuable for a general comparativism than for an examination of a localized institution in its relations with the milieu. The account below will attempt to combine, according to the dosage that reality itself offers, the point of view of the local jurist, who already codifies and elaborates, with that of the usagers who know law only by what they see and experience of it. Tendency toward normalization and emotive participation, the one individualist and rational, the other of an entirely communitarian spirit, but cropping out in the law, will equally have room in our curiosity. To the one as well as to the other, one will try to give a just part in this overly schematic account, which is resigned to neglecting the varieties between groups.

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584 /The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Seksawa marriage includes several phases, the succession of which is punctuated by ceremonies.

a) the asghurt, "prenuptial stage," is a period of frequentation preliminary to cohabitation. It is of indefinite duration.

Inaugurating it are:

1) the id'ilâb, "request" solemnized by the sacrifice of an animal and
2) the agreement of the fiancée and the two families, sanctioned by a meal in common;

/342 cont./

586 562 to the evaluation of the magistrates. But in Seksawa she can obtain it on simple incompatability, which constitutes an exorbitant originality in relation to the fiqh.

As an orf judge said, only the woman may be the judge of the d'd'arar ddakhili, that is, "hidden objections." An original vein of protective tenderness with regard to daughters and sisters circulates here in /343/ the customs. It is so notable that, the regularization of this practice having been brought about by tribal deliberation in 1949, the jemâa unanimously, with one exception, manifested its formal agreement. The isolated one was from the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa. A man from Arab confines.

Comparison with Orthodox Marriage

585 171 While there can be no question here of a historical comparison between the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution and the Mussulman institution, as it is presented in theory on the one hand, in Moroccan practice on the other, one immediately notices certain differences.

First of all, a difference of profile in time. The conclusion of the orthodox nikâh' is sanctioned by the payment of at least a part of the çadâq /ṣadāq/. This is incontestably its point of de-

584 171 parture. Nothing is less true of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage, where the nuptials are preceded by what I have called a prenuptial stage, which is not always today, and in any case seems not to have been formerly, exclusive of the sexual act. But let us not dwell on this question; it could be suitably treated only in the perspectives of the Berbère /Berber/ comparativism that a recently opened controversy over "Kabyle betrothal" (1)

584 171 114 1. I am thinking of the malicious criticisms by G.-H. Bousquet, Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, p. 63. If, however, on a juridical plane, they appear decisive, I wonder if the question would not merit being thoroughly examined on the plane of general ethnology. A. Magdelain,

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/footnote 1 continued/ Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 104, finds in very ancient Roman law an opposition between the "betrothal," more conservative form, more imbued with magic rites and with the notion of patria potestas, and "marriage," individualized and consensual form. In Rome, however, the juridical tie of the betrothal fell into decadence early. Similarly in Mussulman law the institution's point of departure in time, in the juridical sense of the term, is the fâtih'a. Nevertheless in Chleuh /Shluh/ law the frequency of litigations that we would call "breach of promise of marriage" is significant, and at the very least covers the notion of a juridical state already established anterior to the pronouncement of the fâtih'a. This is what I call the prenuptial stage, by allusion to practices of this order fallen to the level of simple folklore in certain European milieus, for example. Cf. Van Gennep, Manuel de folklore français /Manual of French folklore/, 1943, t. I, pp. 226 sq., 249, 259. In the Berbère /Berber/ domain itself, it would not be adventurous to compare this phase of "frequentation," where the daughter remains at the home of her parents, with such a trait of Touareg /Tuareg/ marriage: "custom requires that the newly married live near the parents of the woman for a year," M. Benhazera, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar /Six months with the Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1908, p. 18. In Morocco itself, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas knows different practices dependent on a conjugal life first paired with work at the home of the parents, according to the Biblical theme of Jacob at the house of Laban. This is the custom of the amhares. Something analogous among the ait ʿAt't'a of the Sahara,

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584 171 114 /footnote 1 continued/ according to de Ligniville. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, too quickly ranks under the name of tiddukla, "compagnonnage" /Fr. compagnonnage, time of service as journeyman after apprenticeship/, some traits of this sort (p. 7). Same reproach to be made concerning his discussion of the theory of H. Basset, drawn from the uniformity of the alig in a. Sadden, a. Warain, a. Seghruchen, B. Mgild, Zayân, etc. (pp. 8 sq. and 9, n. 4).

584 171 renders rather inconclusive in the case at hand.

What is undeniable, on the contrary, is that the Chleuh 581 /Shluh/ marriage /344/ is a society of egalitarian production (1),

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, §§1 sq., and notes. Nothing more instructive than the difficulty of the orthodox jurist in order to justify the aberrant solutions of the milieu.

where each rightful claimant, women included, contributes his capital and his work. The capital of the woman is the jihaz, and her share of acquests, the tizzla. Nothing similar in Arab countries. 581 171 At Fès /Fez/, for example, the mores indeed force a bourgeois who is marrying off his daughter to give her a "marriage settlement," called chuwâr or tajhîz, of an amount equal to double the part of the ṣadâq paid immediately. But this is a sumptuary liberality which turns round as a threat of forfeiture in case of repudiation. Assuredly not, as in the Sous, a society that [181] invests itself. Ostentatious economics and tension between great families, such is the climate of Fès; modest and meticulous community of work, such is that of the Sous. The meaning of the practice differs completely from one case to the other, but from the one to the other, it is true, no solution of continuity, and sometimes use of homonyms to designate quite dissimilar forms.

/370 cont./
592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 121 695 1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

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/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

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/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ʿanāya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

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1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

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[7] social movements too different from those that concern us, and
[12] finally the Touareg /Tuareg/, because eccentric to the Maghreb, are eliminated, attention can be concentrated on a few domains that offer analogies to ours and at the very least the practical advantage of being quite well known (1).

1. Since, of course, here it is not a matter of monographs on Kabylia, the Aurès or the Mzâb, one will abstain from general bibliography, although an excellent comparative description of the various sedentary milieus of North Africa is to be found in J. Despois, L'Afrique du Nord, 1949. The documentation for the following pages comes mainly from investigation on the spot and also cross-checking carried on with experts. Notably, MM. R. Montagne, Ancel, Laburthe, Miralles, Rahmani, Ibnou Zekri, G.-H. Bousquet, Larnaude for Kabylia; Faublée, Cazebonne, for the Aurès; J. Schacht and the late P. Giacobetti for the Mzâb; Lieutenant Berthé for the Touareg /Touareg/. My thanks to all.

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[7] Analogy? In the case of the Sous, let us say identity. The Seksawa are part of the Sous, even though more geographical space is integrated with this convenient appellation than present usage would concede to it. It is still infinitely less than it included in Arab authors. To wit: not only the plain but its mountainous reverses, the whole forming the essential of the linguistic and cultural domain of the tachelh'it /Tashelhit/. The southern counterfort of this Chleuh /Shluh/ country, the Anti-Atlas, homologous to our milieu with respect to the bisector that the river of the Sous describes, offers engaging correspondences with it. Economic resemblances, symmetries of peopling, action of the same saints, reign of the same theological and juridical genre. No need to insist here upon /402/ the multiple traits of

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619 634 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodological import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

/424/ III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616 121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1),

121 171 616 ● 114 1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^{c}okkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

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/footnote 1 continued/ chez les H'âh'a /The social and domestic organization among the H'âh'a/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1905, p. 15. The author saw that this institution is an element of makhzanian politics. De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, mentions the play of the leff-s in Chyâd'ma, p. 421, [c]Abda, p. 453, etc. Aug. Bernard, quoting Doutté, shows this play being exercised in oriental Morocco, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Confines/, 1911, pp. 104 sq. But it was the privilege of R. Montagne to revive the question by plunging the study of these dualisms within the economic, juridical, and political context of the Moroccan S. and of the ensemble of Berbérie /Barbary/. His thesis is affirmed little by little in a series of monographs beginning in 1924. After Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, the only essential contribution is that of Col. Justinard apropos the Tagizzult and the Tah'ogg[w]at of the Anti-Atlas and the Sous: "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI[e] siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Arch. mar., 1933, pp. 59 sq. 76 sq.; above all he translated an important text of the eighteenth century, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940; he takes up his thesis, pp. 173 sq. Cf. c. r. /report/ by R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIII[e] siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leff among the Masmouda at the beginning of the eighteenth century/," Hesp., 1941, pp. 92, 93 sq., where the theory is greatly enlarged. Since that time, the principal contributions have been the cartography of J. Dresch, 1941; the monograph by Tuder, "Anciennes divisions et alliances en pays Imerhan /Ancient divisions and alliances in Imerhan country/," in CHEAM, 1946; an account by

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/footnote 1 continued/ Marcy, taking up an interesting Aurès legend, "La tribu berbère: structure, leffs," in CHEAM, 1941; the application of the theory by Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié, Greniers-citadelles du Maroc /Granary-citadels of Morocco/, 1951, pp. 218 sq.; and especially, in a region little known up to now, a monograph by Cauneille, "Les ligues du S. tripolitain /The leagues of the Tripolitan S./," in CHEAM.

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resolves the Berbère /Berber/ structure of the Maghreb into balanced dualisms, with corresponding broad zones. Would it be to make system out of necessity to emphasize the extent to which the value of these dualisms rests in the confrontation of names, rather than in their content? This last has merit above all, if I may venture to say it, because of its very indecision. R. Montagne extends the thesis to /425/ the entire sedentary Berbère world. He shows that its applications are susceptible to variable rigor, to modalities unequally full or decadent according to the sectors. The criterion would be the density of the content, still perceptible particularly in the Anti-Atlas where the Tagizzult-Tah'ogg^{w}at opposition would recover that of two layers of peopling (1).

[114]

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, p. 214. This interpretation, toward which R. Montagne as well as Colonel Justinard seem to lean more and more, has not up to now been compared, I believe, with the one that Moroccan Judaism gives of its own division into "natives" and "immigrants." The comparison nevertheless should be made.

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In fact, these dualisms arise from a general theme. R. Montagne has pointed out examples of it in Arabia, Kurdistan, and elsewhere. In a form more or less balanced and complete, more or less alive or degraded, being inscribed in the geography, unless it

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/425 cont./ They scarcely go any further today. But formerly their exercise was vaster (4).

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4. The essential written source is the text of the Rih'la translated by Col. Justinard. A patient semantic study would also be necessary in order to discern from the context which nuance is in question: permanent "league," or incidental "coalition." I confess that the reports on the text of the ms. of the Rih'la that I /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ possess have not entirely convinced me. The translator sometimes adds the word when it is not given in the original (tr. p. 49, ms. p. 39. Doubtful case, tr. p. 31, ms. p. 17. Id., tr. p. 118, ms. p. 92). In other cases one may doubt the interpretation (tr. pp. 76, 87, 92, ms. pp. 59, 67, 72). If one is to believe the translator, the term leff is also found in the Nafh'at ach-Chabab, Justinard tr., "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes from Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, p. 331, next-to-last ¶. Finally, we have translated and reproduced the letter from the amghar Umulid in which this word is used, "Poésie et vérité sur les Seksawa /Poetry and Verity from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, p. 145.

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and /426/ we know by a text from the Haut Seksawa (1)

1. Cf. p.

that a convention between groups could enlarge it further.

Parental, procedural, or international solidarity: these three notions, unequally used, unequally clear in the native

1: Berque--629 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

128 This study is based above all upon direct investigation, visits, judicial practice, research into local traditions and local archives. It has attempted, as often as possible, to compare the Seksawa facts with other facts from the Maghreb. But it would deform its character to widen to such a domain a systematic bibliography. The latter should be reduced to sources where it is directly a question of the country and of the people. It has thus eliminated, in spite of all that we owe them, a certain number of general works. For analogous reasons, finally, it disregards sources that are not contemporaneous or bear on a distant past; we have utilized them in an article on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 359-417, to which one can go back for references.

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I. -- Cartography

[114] The reconnaissance map at 1/100,000 is summary, and its toponymy defective. In 1950, however, the "aerial covering" of the region was carried out by the Institut géographique national at a scale of approximately 1/40,000. In addition, one has available the works of:

113 J. Dresch, "Croquis orographique du grand Atlas occidental /Orographic outline of the great western Atlas/," at 1/100,000, and "Croquis structural," at 1/200,000, in Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central Du grand Atlas /Documents on the ways of mountain life in the Central Massif of the great Atlas/, Tours, Arrault and Cie., 1941, 2 vol., in-4°, 40 p., 12 mpas, publ. by the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, t. XXXV.

II. -- The Physical Milieu

J. Célérier, "La montagne au Maroc, essai de définition et de classification /The mountains in Morocco, attempt at

/viii cont./

121 action of a sovereign. It seems that the permanent opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the central power is livelier and more constant here.

Furthermore, in one of the provinces of the South of the Empire large commands with feudal aspects exist, which by an exception /ix/ nearly unique in North Africa have taken on the appearance of stability before our eyes. There is no doubt but that we can comprehend here, from modest examples, it is true, but with a precision that history does not allow us to attain, the relations of the tribes and their chiefs.

Such were the general considerations suggested to us by the study of the history and the spectacle of the life of the tribes, when circumstances led us to conceive the project of undertaking the work that we are finishing today, after five years of investigation.

121 • 114 When in 1923 Marshal Lyautey did us the great honor of asking us to prolong a stay in Morocco that had allowed us to acquaint ourselves with the life of the indigenous populations and granted us complete freedom to pursue new studies there, we intended to limit ourselves solely to becoming better acquainted with the origin of the power of the chiefs of the Atlas, the organization of their commands, and the institutions that they had been able to found in Berbère /Berber/ country. After two years of missions in the western Atlas and the plains of the Sous /see p. 5, footnote 1/, it seemed to us at first that one could not understand how this "Berbère feudality" had become established without at the same time observing the progressive and correlative decline of the mountain republics, for which the leaders of the South had substituted themselves little by little for less than half a century; on the other hand, the transformation of the country, which had taken place since the appearance of the large commands, obviously only indicated a succession of stages in a more complete evolution; it was easy to see that the central government, the "Makhzen" /makhzan/, whose progressive penetration was so prominent, was coming in turn to gather in

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121 the heritage of the lords. Most often it was the sherifian power
•114 that maintained the struggle of the chiefs and tribes by its encouragement or its indirect influence. The appearance of the great kaids in Berbère /Berber/ country thus made us a witness at the successive phases of the constitution of the Empire.

Consequently, a study mission devoted to the tribes of northern Morocco during the revolt of ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ in 1925 and 1926, then two additional years of research in the Anti-Atlas, the Dadès, and on the coast of the Sous and of the Tekna were to allow us to complete the observations that we had been able to make /x/ at first; we were led to establish numerous comparisons between the institutions of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and those of the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala /Jebala/, the Rif, and Kabylia, so as to extend the scope of our conclusions to the greatest part of sedentary Berbérie
[128] /Barbary/. The facts that have served to make up the books II and III of this work were collected in this way.

128 It remained for us to make knowledge of these obscure
[121] struggles in the interior of a distant and little-known province of the Sherifian Empire more accessible to the reader not very familiar with the aspects of Berbère /Berber/ life and of the history of the Maghreb. Here, in our first book, we have tried, without worrying about making a geographical study, to tell simply, but with all the development that seemed desirable to us, what the general conditions of existence and the primitive civilization of the populations established in the region where we multiplied our investigations were; likewise, while dismissing the project of writing an actual history of the Moroccan South -- impossible to compose because of the insufficiency of sources -- we also thought that it would be useful to sketch the picture of the great struggles of the past for which it was the theater.

121 In fact, it is difficult, even for a specialist, to put together easily and to interpret the principal indications that the historians and chroniclers give us about the life of a land far from the great capitals and that are found scattered in a large number of works;

/xi cont./

121 We should also have liked to tell better what the juridical consequences of the political transformation that has so completely changed their social life for half a century have been for the tribes subject to the great chiefs and to the Makhzen /makhzan/. Going through transitions, often rapid, from the regulations of a customary law singularly primitive -- although very much alive and marvelously well adapted sometimes to the economic circumstances of existence -- to the rigid rules established by the sacred legislation of the Koran, the Berbères /Berbers/ see the ruin of the traditions to which they are secretly most attached thus being precipitated after their submission. The documents that might have permitted us to follow this evo- [114] lution of institutions and customs are still inadequate or too difficult to interpret for us to have been able to try to follow the various phases of the conflict between the two laws.

121 We must explain here the material conditions under which
127 the documentation on which this study of the struggle between the Berbère /Berber/ republics and their leaders rests could be gathered.

One must not expect to find in the texts of the Moroccan authors information that would permit one to study the institutions of a province far away from the Empire. First of all, /xii/ historic sources truly worthy of the name are rare in this country; the writers of recent centuries, especially those whose information is most important to us because it explains the present more, scarcely tell us anything except the greatest events of each sovereign's reign; for the nineteenth century, barely a few pages of Akensous and of Ahmed en Nasiri bring us the brief account of the Sultan's expeditions or set down the weakened echo of the wars that took place in the Atlas. For the tribes, even in the zaouias there are scarcely any archives that can fill the gaps of the official history; sometimes only a few records give us the names of vanished leaders, or, still more rarely, the flyleaf of a law book bears, in the awkward hand of a poor village scholar, the mention of the date of the great events

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121 [127] that struck his mind, death of holy personages, passage of the Sultan's armies, struggles of villages or cantons.

• 114 123 [122] So it is by direct inquiry, made in the country, that one must ask what the texts deny us. It is therefore necessary to try, in the course of long visits in the villages of the Atlas, to adopt the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ for a time by a kind of voluntary mimicry; by speaking their language, one will even try to take on their habits of thought, in order to lessen the distance that separates us from their primitive civilization and to get to observe it better.

Moreover, this method of investigation does not proceed without serious difficulties; it imposes, perhaps still more than the use of documents, a rigorous discipline.

Indeed, one cannot ask the Berbères /Berbers/ -- even when we have gained their confidence at the cost of some effort -- to initiate us into all that we do not know about them; it does not occur to them that we may not know what is most obvious to them and most strange to us; this is how it happened that we spent several months in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ studying the life of the tribes without discovering the existence of the "leffs," that organization of permanent alliances without which, however, it is impossible to understand the transformation that has taken place in the country in the past fifty years; only the chance occurrence of a historical inquiry made with the oldest old men of a village abruptly revealed to us their nature and essential role. Rather /xiii/ than by confidences, it is thus by an attentive observation of the present, by meticulous research on the events of the past -- such as the oldest witnesses can enable us to know -- that one will come to understand the nature of the institutions and to discern the working of the laws that dominate the politics of the tribes.

121 On the other hand, each of the cantons in which the inhabitants of the Moroccan South voluntarily enclose their activity has its own life; particularly in the mountains, the horizon of the political life of these small republics is strictly limited; it will

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121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[13] [133] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favor-
127 able political circumstances and the progress of French penetra-
114 tion, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of monographs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the
114 vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

121 /xiv/ guests, high in the towers of the casbahs, or still oftener
•114 in the humbler homes of the village sheiks, that we tried to uncover the various aspects of the simple life of the montagnards of the Moroccan South. While, before our eyes, the sometimes attractive, always engaging pictures of the primitive and harsh existence in the high valleys were helping us to understand the present, the old men were telling us about the wars of the past, the traditions formerly respected, now destined for oblivion, because they had become forever useless in a new order. These invaluable recitals by hundreds of witnesses evoked half a century of history for us in the country itself, amidst ruins of villages or on the towers of fortresses, with a certainty and a lifelike precision of details that gave us the illusion of the present. Little by little such obscure struggles were illuminated for us, and in the course of the harsh stages of the Atlas roads it happened at times, in the stern grandeur of the summits and passes, that we encompassed in a single glance a vast horizon of valleys where we practiced discerning with our guides, as in a wide-open book, the hidden meaning of Berbère /Berber/ life.

122 Having reached the end of our labor, it remains for us to express our feelings of deep thanks and respectful gratitude to those who permitted us to undertake it and to finish it; it would not have seen the light of day without the confidence with which Marshal Lyautey honored us by keeping us in Morocco and giving us the necessary means for carrying on our investigations. The honor of having been thus associated in a small way with his work will remain for us the most precious memory of our African career.

The support, so kind and wise, of Colonel Huot, directeur des Affaires indigènes /Director of Native Affairs/, greatly facilitated our beginnings.

/xv cont./

12 borrowed valuable information on the customary law; Mr. G. S. Colin, professor at the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines and at the École des Langues orientales vivantes /School of Modern Oriental Languages/, who willingly communicated to us important manuscript notes on the land of the Ghomara, the Koutama, and the Srair Senhaja; Commandant Portillo, of the "Intervenciones militares" of the Spanish zone of the Protectorate, who so kindly facilitated for us a visit to the country of the Jbala /Jebala/.

128 Finally, our friends H. Terrasse, A. Basset, J. Célérier have had the goodness to look over our manuscript and many times made useful suggestions; we beg them to believe in our heartfelt gratitude.

12 •114 It is impossible for us to pass over in silence the welcome, so often earnest and friendly, that was accorded to us in the poor mountain villages by our innumerable informants or, in the casbahs, by the greatest number of tribal leaders. In order to give us the information that we were trying to collect, some quite often had to manifest a courage, others to demonstrate /xvi/ in us a confidence which did not fail to be meritorious. If, in the following pages, we have sometimes happened to express our sympathy for certain forms of the Berbères' /Berbers'/ social life in preference to others, at least we have tried here to judge the institutions rather than the men. The latter are worth more than the former, and more than once, in leaving the house of a kaid, or still more often at the threshold of the humble dwelling of an Atlas sheik, after long hours spent with the Berbères to evoke the ancient struggles, we felt the regret of leaving behind us friends whom time and distance would never permit us to see again.

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*175 •114 Later, when Morocco closes its frontiers and lives apart from the western world, the rare writers who still consent to keep the chronicle of the events happening in an already ruined Empire hardly merit the name of historians; they limit their effort /56/ to vindication of the sovereigns or base their judgments on the rules of a narrow religious formalism (1).

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1. E. Lévi-Provençal, Les Historiens des Chorfa /The Historians of the Shorfa/, Paris, p. 21 and sqq.

Moreover, all the books that the Arab authors left to us show only the most official aspect of the institutions as they might appear to the learned men of the towns, faithful servants of the Makhzen /makhzan/; they almost never tell us the policy of the leaders, the reaction of the tribes, the struggle of the influences among which the power is divided up in a region often abandoned to anarchy. The European texts are more precise and sometimes contain valuable information, but they are rarely the work of travelers experienced enough to have penetrated deeply into the obscure and complicated workings of Berbère /Berber/ politics.

*175 Under these conditions it is useless to hope to succeed in knowing, in all their development, the great political movements that have disturbed the life of the Moroccan South, since we would not know how to interpret with certainty the documents that are available to us or to put them together in sufficient number to draw an exact enough picture of the past. It will suffice for us to choose here, from among the number of limited facts whose recital has reached us, those that are most fraught with meaning, to esteem them for what they are worth, and to tie them together, in order to sketch in large strokes the curve of an evolution whose more precise variations we must give up knowing. The general view at which we shall thus arrive will perhaps suffice to bring to light some of the permanent characteristics of the social life and will help us to understand the present better.

/85 cont./
*175 left to found his brotherhood in Afoughal among the Haha (3).

• [114]

3. In the course of research carried out with Mr. P. de Cenival among the Chyadma /Chiadma/, we have been able to identify Afoughal with the Souk el Had of the Dra, 35 kilometers to the east of Mogador.

Preaching the holy war at the same /86/ time that he was propagating the mystical doctrines of chadilisme /Shādhilīism/, at the time when the Christians' expeditions were multiplying, Jazouli had immense success. More than 12,000 disciples carried his doctrine into all the tribes, while powerful offshoots of his zaouia /zawiya, zauia: Moslem monastery and school/ were founded in the north of Morocco in Salé, Fez, Meknès, Tlemcen, on the Tadla, and in the South at Bou Romman, among the Howara, at Massat, and at Aqqa. But the power of this man, whose pride was such that he had heard God declare to him "that he had placed him above the creatures of his time," was the cause of his downfall; he perished, poisoned, in 1465, and his enemies, temporal leaders or talebs hostile to his brotherhood, ruined his achievement. We know that one of his adepts, ʿOmar el Maghiti ech Chyadmi, surnamed Es Seyyaf -- the executioner -- assembled the loyal disciples and ravaged in his name the Masmoudian tribes of the plain of the North, while he was transporting the corpse of the master in the midst of his bands of brigands, in order to continue to live on his prestige (1).

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1. Cf. Ibn ʿAskar, Daouhat en Nāchir /"Daʿwat al-Nāshir"/; Ahmed el Fasi, Momtiʿ el Asmaʿ; El Arbi El Fasi, Mirat el Mahasin; Archives marocaines (Graulle trans.), Vol. XIX, pp. 17, 271, 282; Cour, Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc /Establishment of the Dynasties of the Sherifs in Morocco/,

/136 cont./

*634 Waouzgit, on the whole versant of the South of the Atlas and around the massif of the Sirwa, had also kept, with their agadirs in ruins today, their councils of notables, the "Aït arba'in" or "inflas." Here, however, the institutions' oligarchical character was more marked than in the upper valleys of the Tichka, and, moreover, the amghars, despotic chiefs of the cantons, were more /137/ numerous and more ancient. That was doubtless the 175 result of an ancient penetration by the Makhzen /makhzan/. At *631 a time when the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had almost completely *634 escaped sherifian influence, the country of the Aït Waouzgit was actually subject in the middle of the nineteenth century, doubtless for several generations, to the nominal authority of a kaid of the Marrakech plain. Customarily chosen from among the Zemran or the Segharna each year, this chief used to assemble his contingents and pass by way of Telwet, where the father of Si el Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, was then only a minor mountain sheik like the others, then he descended toward the Warzazat, Tazenakht, and the Zagmouzen, following the valleys. Among [651] the minor amghars whose houses marked out this "makhzen trail," he was satisfied to collect the traditional tribute that they had assembled around them upon his order, at the rate of one peseta per household, without the sherifian harka's ever penetrating into the territory of the little mountain republics.

Farther to the South, at the edge of the Sahara, the greatest confusion reigned: the Sultan's armies did not get there at all; the power of the amghars was precarious, and, doubtless, the organization of the Berbères /Berbers/ was still more anarchical here, and disturbed by the frequent reactions brought on by the struggle of the sedentary peoples against the nomads.

Without going back to a distant period, however, it suffices [127] for us, in order to know the true situation of the country, to consult the notes of Ch. de Foucauld, who in 1883 visited the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, the Zagmouzen, today subject to the Glawa, and who spent several weeks at Tisint and Aqqa. The picture of the [114] local institutions that he traced out then differs strangely from the one that we first put together from the testimony of the servants of the great chiefs.

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•114 *634 *631 642 619 The authority of the more or less independent "amghars" appeared to him then to be predominant, but without going so far as to suppress the existence of the assemblies, for the chiefs' authority must be used lightly in order to exist. "Tribes, districts, villages," he tells us, "live, some under a despotic regime, others under a democratic regime. The first are governed by families in which supreme power with the title of sheik is hereditary: such are the Aït Amer, the Zenaga, the Mezgita. The authority of these sheiks is not burdensome for their subjects; more or less close relatives of a large number of them, it is necessary for them to treat these /138/ natural allies tactfully. Besides, it is to their interest not to offend anyone; they allow those under their jurisdiction great freedom and ask of them only three things: to pay a trifling tax, to follow them when they wage war, not to fight, pillage, or steal too much among themselves; this is permitted only with strangers. As for the rest, complete license" ... Such is what de Foucauld calls the "despotic regime." "As for the democratic regime, the tribes or districts that have [184] adopted it possess it with the most diverse nuances. Among some, such as the Ilalen, the Iberqaqen, the system established in the North prevails; fractions, tribes, villages are governed by the assembly of all their members. Elsewhere, as in the qsars of Tisint, of Tatta, the assembly keeps sovereign power in its hands and entrusts the executive power to a sheik whom it elects; sometimes it ceaselessly carries it from the one to the other. Certain tribes, such as the Ida Ou Blal, the Aït Ou Mribet, the Isaffen, are divided into fractions, each having at its head a family in which the dignity of sheik is hereditary. Sometimes the power of these chiefs is quite great, as among the Aït Ou Mribet and Isaffen; sometimes, as among the Ida Ou Blal, their only prerogative is to lead their brothers in combat" (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, pp. 91-92.

/138 cont./

Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the western Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us, in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom; they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded
*634 as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
613 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2).

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif, seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
128 the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

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621 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert"
613 (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ʿadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a
[103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iʿaisaten, the sons of ʿAisa; Taourirt n Aʿit lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like
632 the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "mouda" (3)

114 3. From the Arabic "mouda, " place.
613 Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this
621 group ("Organisation sociale et domestique
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/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

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174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taq-bilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of
[178] the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[179] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
•114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence
*[634] of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/201 cont./
616 with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).
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1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by C^t Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../," Hespéris, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Aït Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

101 We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential
616 aspects.
619 Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

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/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

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In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

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For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

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1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

2: Montagne--340 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11
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/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

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V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

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Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

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2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

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343 184 198 VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- The institution of agadirs in the form that we have described, whether it is a matter of simple storehouses of hamlets or of "mouda[c]," like those of the Deren, or of large fortresses in the Anti-Atlas or the Sirwa, presents in the Sous in our day signs of a profound decline. In the Atlas, agadirs appear only in the regions of the summits: in the country of the Seksawa of the high mountains, among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Gedmiwa of the Aghbar and of the higher valleys of the Asif el Mal; among the Glawa, in the vicinity of Telwet and in some cantons of the Imeghran and of the Imegoun. In the Sirwa they exist only in the highest part of the great volcanic massif, among the Aït Tadrart, the Aït Qalla, the Aït Maghlif and Ikhozamen. Finally, in the Anti-Atlas, where they took on greater importance than anywhere else, they are nevertheless found only in the tribes included between the country of the Ida Ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal to the West, that of the Isouktan to the East, and, on the other hand, between the Dir of the North versant and the neighboring region of the crests.

Thus one sees that the zone in which collective storehouses exist is reduced still more than that of the tribes remaining independent until our arrival in the Moroccan South, since this institution cannot be observed among the Ida Ou Tanan, the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, and on all the Saharan confines of the Dra.

343 •114 The agadirs, moreover, are small enough in number so that as careful an observer as Ch. de Foucauld, in crossing the Anti-Atlas twice in 1883 -- without straying, it is true, from the /259/ principal roads -- could have failed to point them out or was entirely mistaken as to their true use (1).

1. Ch. de Foucauld, after describing "the storehouse châteaux" of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas, which are similar

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/footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

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But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

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In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Maᶜcho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

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In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

343 712 [114] /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

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1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 121 343 712 [648] After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. Without trying to make here a complete study of this institution of collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

343 712 178 621 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to within the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/ of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nucleated community. A common approach to the problem is that illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the southern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not made, however.

Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne.

Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.

Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité...

Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agadir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksaoua (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *Imud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'agglomé-

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

lineage here does often seem to be based primarily upon descent and may be considered a major lineage. Furthermore, lineage structures intermediate between the minor and major lineages are indicated for the Beni Mtir (231-232) (the *tighst*, pl. *tighsatin*) and for the Ait Ouallal tribe (475) of the Ait Atta (see Table III; and Abes, 1917, p. 189; Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-205; Spillman, 1936, p. 47).

d. *Commune or Major Lineage*

The minor lineages of the Berbers, as has been indicated above, come together to form a larger group which may be designated as a "commune". Among the Shluh this unit is commonly termed a *mouda* ("locality"), or sometimes a *jema'a* (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, p. 151); the Beraber designate it as a *fakhda* ("division") or as an *ikhs* (pl., *ikhsan* or *ikhusas*) (Abes, 1917, p. 188; Quelreux, 1915, p. 22; Spillman, 1936, p. 44); the Riffians as *fariqath* or as *arrba* (pl., *roboa'*, from the Arabic *rebaa*, "fourth") (Coon, 1931, p. 91; Hart, 1954, p. 66); and the Zenata as *lferqa* (from *el ferqa*, "eighth") (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139). In the anthropological literature this unit has been designated as a "canton" (Coon, 1931; Hart, 1954), "sous-fraction" (Deverdun, 1942; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), "sous-groupes", or "grands *ikhs*" (Berque, 1955).

In most cases the commune is not simply a lineage, for, although most of its component lineages may feel themselves to be related, others are not. Among the Riffians, for example,

> ... the *canton* [i.e., commune] is a group of *bones* [minor lineages] which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* [extended families] descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*... (Coon, 1931, pp. 91-92).

This is essentially the same definition of a commune as given by Montagne (see p. 53, above) for the Shluh.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

essentielle d'être en quelque sorte les champions permanents. Ce sont eux qui marchent au combat en tête de tous les autres et s'efforcent d'y entraîner leurs frères par l'exemple de leur propre intrépidité. Une observation curieuse permet au reste de mettre en lumière le rôle si particulier qui leur est dévolu: toutes les luttes privées qui se sont déroulées chez les Ait Jellidasen depuis une soixantaine d'années – elles sont au nombre d'une douzaine environ –, n'ont opposé successivement les uns aux autres que les "ighousâs" d'"Ait A'ouwâm", portant chacun la bannière de sa fraction respective... (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

Similar communal paragons are known from the Haha of the western High Atlas, and may be more widespread than reported (Doutté, 1905).

e. *District*

Beyond the commune one finds a still larger division, the district, customarily termed a "fourth" or a "fifth" in the Berber languages because, in theory at least, four or five of these units consitute a larger unit, usually the tribe. Thus we have the term *khums* ("fifth") used among the Shluh and Beraber (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 152-155); *rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* and *thakhammasth* ("fifth") among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 15); and *rebaa* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 139). One exception to this, however, is the word *taqbilt* (pl. *tiqilin*), used by the Shluh to refer to both a district and a tribe (Adam, 1941, p. 76; Montagne, 1930, p. 152). In the French and Spanish literature this division is customarily designated as a "fraction" or "canton", and must not be confused with Coon's and Hart's "canton", which is the major lineage or commune (Berque, 1955; Coon, 1931; Deverdun, 1942; Hart, 1954; Marcy, 1929; Montagne, 1930; Paniagua y Santos, 1948; Querleux, 1915; Spillman, 1936).

The district is defined more by geographical proximity than by blood, although there may be many lineages in the same district, even in different communes, which are related by blood and marriage. In some special cases, the district as a whole may claim descent from some common ancestor. The Berber district is in essence a political federation of "villages" or hamlets. Usually it has boundaries no more than 9 or 10 miles across, and is inhabited by a few